# FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the matter of:

Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals Mauricio Claver-Carone

Gus Machado

Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc.

US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee

MUR No.: <u>5830</u>

### COMPLAINT -

1. Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington brings this complaint before the Federal Election Commission ("Commission") seeking an immediate investigation and enforcement action against Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals, Mauricio Claver-Carone, Gus Machado, Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee for direct and serious violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act ("FECA") and Commission regulations.

## Complainant

2. Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington is a non-profit organization dedicated to ensuring accountability in pubic officials and compliance with federal laws.

## Respondents

3. Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals is a citizen of Spain and a resident of the Bahamas. He established Cuba Democracy Advocates. Inc. in 2000 as a 501(c)(3) organization and has been the organization's principal financial supporter ever since. Press reports indicate that since 1999 Mr. Pujals has devoted his personal fortune to seeking to topple the government of Fidel Castro so that Mr. Pujals may become the next president of Cuba. Mr. Pujals' address is

- 4. Mauricio Claver-Carone is, simultaneously, the Executive Director of both Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee. Mr. Claver-Carone's address is:
- 5. Gus Machado is, simultaneously, the President and Treasurer of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and the Treasurer of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action

  Committee. Mr. Machado's address is
- 6. Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. was founded as a 501(c)(3) organization in 2000. According to its 2004 Form 990 filed with the Internal Revenue Service, Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. has only three officers/directors: Gus Machado, Mauricio Claver-Carone and Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals. The official address of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. is Mr. Claver-Carone's home:

Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. actually operates, however, out of the offices of the Center for a Free Cuba, Suite 600, 1320 19<sup>th</sup> Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036.<sup>1</sup>

7. The US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee is registered as a nonconnected committee with the Commission. The Committee's official address is 1200 West 49<sup>th</sup> Street, Hialeah, Florida, 33012. That is the address of Gus Machado's car dealership, Gus Machado Ford. In Washington, D.C., the US-Cuba Democracy Political

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Center for a Free Cuba, like Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc., is a 501(c)(3) organization. In 2004, it received one million, four hundred seventy-six thousand, nine hundred and sixteen dollars (\$1,476,916) in federal funds, primarily from USAID grants issued pursuant to Section 109a of the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act of 1996, popularly known as the Helms-Burton Act. Whether or not the Center for a Free Cuba violated federal laws or regulations prohibiting grant recipients from using federal funds to engage in lobbying and/or partisan political activities is a matter for the Inspector General of the U.S. Agency for International Development.

Action Committee, like Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc., actually operates out of the offices of the Center for a Free Cuba, Suite 600, 1320 19<sup>th</sup> Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036.

## **Factual Allegations**

- 8. In late 1999, Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals sold his stake in the Spanish fast-food chain Telepizza for three hundred and sixty million dollars (\$360,000,000). On December 18, 1999, Pujals told Deutsche Presse-Agentur that he intended to use the proceeds of the sale of Telepizza to topple the government of Fidel Castro and become the next president of Cuba. "I want Cuba to become a democracy and I am willing to invest whatever I have to make that happen." Mr. Pujals was born in Cuba but is a naturalized citizen of Spain.
- 9. On September 1, 2000, Mr. Pujals established two non-profit organizations in the United States to further his goal of toppling the government of Fidel Castro: a 501(c)(3) organization originally named CubaLibertad (FEI Number 54-2003328) and a 501(c)(4) organization originally named Citizens for Liberty in Cuba (FEI Number 54-2003332). See, e.g., Certificate of Incorporation for Citizens for Liberty in Cuba (attached as Exhibit 3).
- On November 17, 2000, the names of the two non-profit organizations were switched. The 501(c)(4) organization, Citizens for Liberty in Cuba, became
   CubaLibertad and the 501(c)(3) organization, CubaLibertad, became Citizens for Liberty

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sinikka Tarvainen, "Pizza King" Wants to Topple Fidel Castro, Deutsche Presse-Agentur (Dec. 18, 1999) (attached as Exhibit 1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Elizabeth Nash, *The Cuban Who Conquered Spain*, The Independent (Mar. 17, 1999)(attached as Exhibit 2).

in Cuba. See, e.g., Certificate of Amendment for Citizens for Liberty in Cuba (attached as Exhibit 4).

- 11. On July 17, 2001, the Internal Revenue Service issued an exemption ruling determining that Citizens for Liberty in Cuba (FEI Number 54-2003328) was exempt from federal income tax as a 501(c)(3) organization (see Exhibit 5).
- 12. On November 29, 2001, both the 501(c)(3) organization, Citizens for Liberty in Cuba (FEI Number 54-20003328), and the 501(c)(4) organization, CubaLibertad, applied to the Florida Secretary of State for authorization to do business in Florida (attached as Exhibits 6 and 7). Mr. Pujals was listed as President and Director of CubaLibertad and Lino J. Piedra was listed as President and Director of Citizens for Liberty in Cuba (see exhibits 6 and 7).
- 13. On February 3, 2003, Citizens for Liberty in Cuba filed its annual report with the Florida Secretary of State (attached as Exhibit 8). The annual report indicated that Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals had replaced Lino J. Piedra as President of Citizens for Liberty in Cuba. The report also indicated that Mauricio Claver-Carone had replaced Manuel Jorge Cutillas as a director of Citizens for Liberty in Cuba. Finally, the report indicated that Gus Machado had become the Treasurer and Secretary of Citizens for Liberty in Cuba.
- 14. On May 28, 2003, Gus Machado three months after becoming the treasurer of Citizens for Liberty in Cuba filed a Statement of Organization form for the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee (attached as Exhibit 9) with the Commission listing himself as Treasurer. Mr. Machado indicated on the Statement of Organization form that the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee was not a separate

segregated fund and specifically stated that the Committee had no connected organization or affiliated committee. Mr. Machado's signature appears on page 1 of the Statement of Organization form immediately above the warning: "NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing the Statement to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. § 437g."

- 15. On its 2003 Year-End Report, the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action

  Committee reported receiving an in-kind contribution of two thousand eight hundred

  dollars (\$2,800) in the form of "consulting services" from Mauricio Claver-Carone. See

  Exhibit 10.
- 16. On September 5, 2003, Citizens for Liberty in Cuba changed its name again, this time to Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. See Exhibit 11.
- 17. During 2004, Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals contributed one hundred seventy-seven thousand, four hundred dollars (\$177,400) to Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. ninety-four percent (94%) of the one hundred eighty-seven thousand, eight hundred and fourteen dollars (\$187,814) contributed to Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. in 2004. See 2004 Form 990, Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax, Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc., FEI Number 54-2003328 (attached as Exhibit 12). Mr. Pujals' 2004 contribution to Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. was used to pay the one hundred thousand and eight dollar (\$100,008) salary of the Executive Director of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc., Mauricio Claver-Carone.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> During 2003, Mr. Claver-Carone was an attorney in the Legislative and Regulatory Activities Division, Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, U.S. Department of the Treasury. It is not apparent from the public record when Mr. Claver-Carone became the Executive Director of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee, nor is it apparent when in 2003 he provided the so-called "consulting services" to the Committee. Accordingly, whether Mr. Claver-Carone's work on behalf of the Committee during 2003 amounts to a violation of the Hatch Act, 5 U.S.C. § 7324, is an issue for the Inspector General of the U.S. Department of the Treasury.

18. During 2004, Mr. Claver-Carone, using the funds he received from Cuba

Democracy Advocates, Inc., paid three thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine dollars and twenty-four cents (\$3,759.24) in administrative expenses for the US-Cuba Democracy

Political Action Committee. Mr. Claver-Carone's payment of the Committee's administrative expenses was reported by the Committee as a series of in-kind contributions to the Committee by Mr. Claver-Carone. See excerpts from 2004 US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee FEC reports attached as Exhibit 13.

## **COUNT I**

- 19. FECA defines a "connected organization" as any organization which is not a political committee but which directly or indirectly establishes, administers, or financially supports a political committee. 2 U.S.C. § 431(7). Commission regulations specify that a connected organization may be a corporation, including a corporation without capitol stock, such as a non-profit corporation. 11 C.F.R. § 100.6(a). For purposes of determining whether a corporation is the connected organization of a political committee, the term "financially supports" includes the payment of establishment, administration and solicitation costs of the political committee. 11 C.F.R. § 100.6(c).
- 20. The Commission's regulations specify that all political committees, including separate segregated funds, established, financed, maintained or controlled by the same corporation, person, or group of persons are *per se* affiliated. 11 C.F.R. § 100.5(g)(2); see also 11 C.F.R. § 110.3(a)(2).
- 21. In the absence of *per se* affiliation, 11 C.F.R. § 114.5(g) provides for a case-by-case examination of various factors to determine whether a corporation is affiliated with (i.e., is the connected organization of) a political committee. 11 C.F.R. § 100.5(g)(4)(i)

and (ii)(A)-(J); see also 11 C.F.R. § 110.3(a)(3)(i) and (ii)(A)-(J). The Commission examines these factors in the context of the overall relationship between the corporation and the political committee to determine whether the presence of any factor or factors is evidence that the corporation is affiliated with the political committee. 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.5(g)(4)(ii) and 110.3(a)(3)(ii) (emphasis added). The factors include: (1) whether the corporation has the ability to direct or participate in the governance of a political committee through formal or informal practices or procedures; (2) whether a corporation has common or overlapping officers, directors or employees with a political committee which indicates a formal or ongoing relationship between the corporation and the political committee; (3) whether a corporation provides funds on an ongoing basis to a political committee, such as through direct or indirect payments for administrative, fundraising, or other costs; and (4) whether a corporation or its agents had an active or significant role in the formation of the political committee. 11 C.F.R. § 100.5(g)(4)(ii)(B), (D), (G) and (I); see also 11 C.F.R. § 110.3(a)(3)(ii)(B), (D), (G) and (I). These factors are not an exclusive list, and other factors may be considered. FEC Advisory Opinion 1995-36.

22. Internal Revenue Service regulations prohibit a 501(c)(3) organization from establishing or operating a separate segregated fund. 26 C.F.R. § 1.527-6(g). Accordingly, if Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. were found to be the connected organization of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee it would be in violation of the Internal Revenue Code and could be penalized with the loss of its tax-exempt status.

- 23. Even a cursory review of the relationship between Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee demonstrates that the Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. must, under the Commission's regulations, be considered to be the connected organization of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee, either by applying the single factor or multiple factors tests.
- 24. The Commission's regulations require it to review the overall relationship between the corporation and the political committee to determine whether the presence of any factor is evidence that the corporation is the connected organization of the political committee. 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.5(g)(4)(ii) and 110.3(a)(3)(ii) (emphasis added). Here, the fact that the same individuals, Gus Machado and Mauricio Claver-Carone, serve respectively and simultaneously as the Treasurer and Executive Director of both Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee is sufficient for the Commission to determine that Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. is the connected organization of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee. See also FEC Advisory Opinion 1988-14 (finding two corporations to be affiliated because "the governing bodies of each corporation overlap and many of the same people are vested with authority to direct both corporations.").
- 25. Even if that single factor were not sufficient to demonstrate that Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and the US-Cuba Democracy Political Acton Committee were connected, a simple review of only those facts that are on the public record demonstrates that at least four factors of the Commission's multiple factor test support such a determination.
- 26. First, the Commission must consider whether the corporation has the ability to direct or participate in the governance of the political committee through formal or

informal practices or procedures. 11 C.F.R. § 100.5(g)(4)(ii)(B); see also 11 C.F.R. § 110.3(a)(3)(ii)(B). The same two individuals, Gus Machado and Mauricio Claver-crone, have day-to-day operational control of both Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee. That ability to simultaneously control both organizations demonstrates that Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. has, at the very least, the ability to direct or participate in the governance of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee through informal practices or procedures.

27. Second, the Commission must consider whether a corporation has common or overlapping officers, directors or employees with a political committee which indicates a formal or ongoing relationship between the corporation and the political committee. 11 C.F.R. § 100.5(g)(4)(ii)(D); see also 11 C.F.R. § 110.3(a)(3)(ii)(D). Here the evidence of affiliation is overwhelming. Not only is there an extensive overlap between the officers, directors and employees of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee, the same two individuals serve simultaneously in the same executive positions in both organizations. Gus Machado serves simultaneously as the Treasurer of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and the Treasurer of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee. Mauricio Claver-Carone serves simultaneously as the Executive Director of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and as Executive Director of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee. See Exhibits 8, 9 and 13. Clearly the public record provides compelling evidence that the common officers, directors and employees of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee demonstrate that there is an ongoing relationship between the corporation and the political committee.

28. Third, the Commission must consider whether a corporation provides funds on an ongoing basis to a political committee, such as through direct or indirect payments for administrative, fundraising, or other costs. 11 C.F.R. § 100.5(g)(4)(ii)(G); see also 11 C.F.R. § 110.3(a)(3)(ii)(G). Here the evidence available on the public record indicates that Mr. Claver-Carone used the funds he received from Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. in 2004 to pay the administrative expenses of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee. See Exhibits 12 and 13. Paying a salary to Mr. Claver-Carone as the Executive Director of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. with the knowledge that he would then use a portion of that salary to pay the administrative expenses of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee would certainly demonstrate that Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. made indirect payments for the administrative costs of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee. Gus Machado, as the Treasurer of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc., was responsible for paying Mauricio Claver-Carone's salary as Executive Director of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. in 2003, 2004, 2005 and 2006. See Exhibit 12. As Treasurer of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee, Gus Machado was also responsible for reporting to the Commission that Mauricio Claver-Carone was paying the administrative expenses of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee in 2003, 2004, 2005 and 2006. See Exhibit 13. 29. Finally, the Commission must consider whether a corporation or its agents had an active or significant role in the formation of the political committee. 11 C.F.R. § 100.5(g)(4)(ii)(I); see also 11 C.F.R. § 110.3(a)(3)(ii)(I). Here the two principal agents of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. were entirely responsible for establishing the US-Cuba Democracy Committee. Gus Machado became the Treasurer of Cuba Democracy

Advocates, Inc. on or about February 3, 2003. See Exhibit 8. Three months later, on May 28, 2003, Gus Machado filed the Statement of Organization form establishing the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee with the Commission. See Exhibit 9. Similarly, Mauricio Claver-Carone became a Director of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. on or about February 3, 2003. See Exhibit 8. The US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee's 2003 Year-End Report shows that Mr. Claver-Carone provided unspecified "consulting services" to the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee during 2003. See Exhibit 10. Clearly, Gus Machado and Mauricio Claver-Carone, as agents of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc., played both an active and significant role in the formation of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee.

30. The evidence on the public record clearly shows that, under either the single factor or multiple factor tests established by the Commission's regulations, Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. is the connected organization of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee. Moreover, because Gus Machado was aware of the relationship between Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee at the time the Committee was established, the evidence demonstrates that Gus Machado knowingly made a false statement to the Commission when he filed a Statement of Organization claiming that the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee had no connected organization. Any person who signs a Statement of Organization form that contains false information is subject to civil penalties pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437g. More importantly, knowingly making a false statement to the Commission is a criminal violation of 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

- 31. The evidence on the public record clearly shows that the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee is not a nonconnected committee, but is instead a separate segregated fund of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. That distinction has enormous legal consequences. A nonconnected committee is free to raise funds from the general public, while a separate segregated fund may only raise funds from a restricted class of executive and administrative personnel employed by the fund's connected corporation. 2 U.S.C. § 441b(b)(4)(A)(i). Since its inception in 2003, the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee has raised approximately one and one-half million dollars (\$1,500,000) from the general public. Because the evidence on the public record clearly indicates that the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee is the separate segregated fund of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc., the vast majority of that one and one-half million dollars (\$1,500,000) was raised in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441b(b)(4)(A)(i).
- 32. Finally, because Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. is a 501(c)(3) organization, its formation and operation of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee is in violation of 26 C.F.R. § 1.527-6(g).

## **COUNT II**

33. FECA makes it unlawful for a foreign national, directly or indirectly, to make a contribution or donation of money in connection with a Federal, State, or local election.

2 U.S.C. § 441e(a)(1). The Commission's regulations have interpreted the foreign national prohibition broadly to prohibit foreign nationals from participating in decisions involving election-related activities. Specifically, Commission regulations state that, "A foreign national shall not direct, dictate, control, or directly or indirectly participate in the decision-making process of any person, such as a corporation, labor organization,

political committee, or political organization with regard to such person's Federal or non-Federal election-related activities, such as decisions concerning the making of contributions, donations, expenditures, or disbursements in connection with elections for any Federal, State, or local office or decisions concerning the administration of a political committee." 11 C.F.R. § 110.20(i). For more than a quarter of a century, the Commission has repeatedly and consistently sought to ensure that foreign nationals do not make contributions in connection with an election through the direct or indirect control of a political committee. See FEC Advisory Opinions 2006-15, 2000-17, 1999-28, 1995-15, 1992-16, 1992-07, 1990-8, 1989-29, 1983-31, 1983-19, 1982-34, 1981-36, 1980-111, 1980-100 and 1978-21.

- 34. Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals was born in Cuba but is a naturalized citizen of Spain. See Exhibit 2.
- 35. On information and belief, Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals violated both 2 U.S.C. § 441e and 11 C.F.R. 110.20(i) by (1) making indirect contributions to the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee through Mauricio Claver-Carone and (2) by participating, directly or indirectly, in the decision-making process of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee.
- 36. On information and belief, Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals violated 2 U.S.C. § 441e and 11 C.F.R. 110.20(i) by making indirect contributions to the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee through Mauricio Claver-Carone. In 2004, Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals contributed one hundred seventy-seven thousand, four hundred dollars (\$177,400) to Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. See Exhibit 12. Mr. Pujals' 2004 contribution to Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. was used to pay the one hundred

thousand and eight dollar (\$100,008) salary of the Executive Director of Cuba

Democracy Advocates, Inc., Mauricio Claver-Carone. Id. During 2004, Mr. ClaverCarone, using the funds he received from Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals through Cuba

Democracy Advocates, Inc., paid three thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine dollars and twenty-four cents (\$3,759.24) in administrative expenses for the US-Cuba Democracy

Political Action Committee. Mr. Claver-Carone's payment of the Committee's administrative expenses was reported by the Committee as a series of in-kind contributions to the Committee by Mr. Claver-Carone. See Exhibit 13.

- 37. On information and belief, Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals violated 11 C.F.R § 110.20(i) by, directly or indirectly, participating in the decision-making of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee. Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals is the President of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. See Exhibit 8. The US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee is, in fact, the separate segregated fund of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. See ¶¶ 19-32. It strains credulity beyond the breaking point to believe that Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals founded Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. in 2000 and played no role whatsoever in the decision to establish the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee in 2003 and has had no role whatsoever in the contribution and administrative decisions of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee since it was established.
- 38. Nor is it credible to believe that Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals was limited to participating in the decisions of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee by doing so through Gus Machado and/or Mauricio Claver-Carone. The very first contribution to the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee was given by a

Victor J. Pujals on June 23, 2003. See Exhibit 14. The Commission should determine what relationship, if any, Victor Pujals has with Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals. Victor Pujals can be contacted at one of two addresses:

- 39. Violations of 2 U.S.C. § 441e and 11 C.F.R. § 110.20(i) by Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals would be especially egregious because it appears that contributions by the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee may have been traded for votes on legislation pending before Congress. On July 12, 2005, the *Miami Herald* reported, "Mauricio Claver-Carone, a director of the U.S.-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee, contacted more than 120 lawmakers, donated money to their campaigns and urged them to reject any easing of the trade and travel sanctions . . . . The lobbying seems to have worked. Reversing a five-year trend in which supporters of easing U.S. sanctions against Cuba were gaining strength in Congress, the House in late June rejected four initiatives relaxing restrictions, including one amendment lifting a ban on sending soap and toothpaste in gift parcels to the island and another letting Cuban Americans travel more to Cuba."
- 40. More significantly, an independent analysis of voting patterns by the Latin

  America Working Group<sup>6</sup> found that the following thirty-two (32) members of the House

  of Representatives changed their vote on embargo legislation to adopt the US-Cuba

  Democracy Political Action Committee position after receiving one or more contributions

  from the Committee:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Pablo Bachelet, New Lobby Kills Threats to Embargo, Miami Herald (July 12, 2005)(attached as Exhibit

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Latin America Working Group, Follow the Money: Impact of U.S.-Cuba Democracy PAC Donations (attached as Exhibit 16).

# Member US-Cuba Democracy PAC Contribution

Rep. Rodney Alexander (R-LA)	\$3,000
Rep. Kevin Brady (R-TX)	\$1,000
Rep. Elton Gallegly (R-CA)	\$1,000
Rep. Ralph Hall (R-TX)	\$2,000
Rep. Joel Hefley (R-CO)	\$1,000
Rep. Darrell Issa (R-CA)	\$1,000
Rep. Tom Latham (R-IA)	\$1,000
Rep. Steven LaTourette (R-OH)	\$2,000
Rep. Mike McIntyre (D-NC)	\$3,000
Rep. Robert Simmons (R-CT)	\$1,000
Rep. Lee Terry (R-NE)	\$3,000
Rep. Edward Whitfield (R-KY)	\$4,000
Rep. Roscoe Bartlett (R-MD)	\$1,000
Rep. Ed Case (D-HI)	\$1,000
Rep. Ben Chandler (D-KY)	\$2,000
Rep. Charles Pickering (R-MS)	\$2,000
Rep. Heather Wilson (R-NM)	\$1,000
Rep. David Wu (D-OR)	\$3,000
Rep. Allen Boyd (D-FL)	\$1,000
Rep. Dennis Cardoza (D-CA)	\$1,000
Rep. Barbara Cubin (R-WY)	\$1,000
Rep. Wayne Gilchrist (R-MD)	\$1,000
Rep. Sam Graves (R-MO)	\$1,000
Rep. Gene Green (D-TX)	\$2,000
Rep. Patrick Kennedy (D-RI)	\$1,000
Rep. Donald Manzullo (R-IL)	\$1,000
Rep. Brad Miller (D-NC)	\$1,000
Rep. John Murtha (D-PA)	\$1,000
Rep. Bob Ney (R-OH)	\$1,000
Rep. Solomon Ortiz (D-TX)	\$1,000
Rep. Adam Schiff (D-CA)	\$1,000
Rep. Brad Sherman (D-CA)	\$1,000

WHEREFORE, Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington requests that the Federal Election Commission conduct an investigation into these allegations, declare the respondents to have violated FECA and applicable Commission regulations, impose sanctions appropriate to these violations and take such further action, including, but not limited to, (1) referring any findings regarding the affiliation of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee to the Internal

Revenue Service for the Service to initiate the revocation of the tax-exempt status of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc., and (2) referring any findings regarding false statements by Gus Machado and prohibited foreign national contributions by Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals to the Justice Department for possible criminal prosegution.

Melanie Sloan
Executive Director
Citizens for Responsibility and
Ethics in Washington
1400 Eye Street, N.W. #450
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 408-5565

cc: The Honorable Mark W. Everson Commissioner Internal Revenue Service 950 L'Enfant Plaza, S.W. 5<sup>th</sup> Floor Washington, D.C. 20024

> The Honorable Donald A. Gambetsa Inspector General U.S. Agency for International Development Room 606-113D Ronald Reagan Building 1300 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20523-1000

The Honorable Harold Damelin Inspector General U.S. Department of the Treasury Room 1221 1500 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20220

## Verification

Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington, acting through Melanie Sloan, hereby verifies that the statements made in the attached Complaint are, upon information and belief, true.

Sworn pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 25th day of September, 2006.

District of Columbia: SS

Subscribed and sworn to before me, in my presence, this 2 day of September.

# **EXHIBIT 1**

Westlaw.

factīva

12/18/99 DCHPA 03:05:00

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12/18/99 Deutsche Presse-Agentur 03:05:00

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Saturday, December 18, 1999

FEATURE: "Pizza king" wants to topple Fidel Castro

By Sinikka Tarvainen, dpa

Madrid (dpa) - He is the hero of one of Spains biggest ever success stories, building a pizza empire and becoming a multi-millionnaire in just a decade, and he firmly believes that willpower can take a man anywhere he wants to go.

But now, four decades after he left his native Cuba, Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals has a goal which is ambitious even for him: to topple Cuban leader Fidel Castro and maybe even become the islands next president.

"I want Cuba to become a democracy," 52-year-old Pujals says, "and I am willing to invest whatever I have to make that happen."

Spaniards know Pujals as the "pizza king", the founder of the countrys biggest fast-food chain Telepizza which has around 600 restaurants and more than 16,000 employees.

The owner of hundreds of race horses, a large yacht and property in the Bahamas, Pujals recently sold his stake in Telepizza for 60 billion pesetas (360 million dollars).

He intends to use part of the money to campaign against Cubas 73-year-old "commander-in-chief" whom, he says, he wants to defeat in a battle of "marketing".

Pujals ancestors, who came to Cuba from Spain in the 19th century, already had a knack for success. They became landowners and built a fortune which the family lost after Castro ousted dictator Fulgencio Batista in 1959 and installed a Communist regime.

Pujals family went into exile in the United States when the boy was 13 years old, and "Leo" developed an unquestioning faith in American "do it yourself" ideals.

After a youth of partying and some university studies, Pujals fought in the Vietnam war, was promoted to the rank of Marine captain, and later worked as a sales manager for several U.S. companies.

In 1981, he was sent as a sales representative to Spain where be built Telepizza, an international empire whose success left Spaniards gasping.

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The only security in a persons life comes from being competent, says Pujals, who shrugged when he was accused of only employing part-time workers on temporary contracts.

"No obstacle is too great when you have a valid goal," stresses the businessman whose motto is "it can be done" and who believes that unemployment could be eliminated by opening enough businesses.

Since taking leave of Telepizza, Pujals has launched a human rights foundation which he is using as a base for his crusade against the Castro regime.

A contagiously enthusiastic man known for his ability to "sell anything", Pujals might well be able to sell himself as a presidential candidate, analysts say in Spain.

He has the advantage of having connections both in Spain and in the United States and of not being associated with the strident and conservative anti-Castro lobby of Cuban exiles in Florida, commentators say.

Pujals has an uncle who spent 27 years as a political prisoner in Cuba, and he has little understanding for people who argue that the repression and economic problems in Cuba are partly offset by gains such as a free education and medical care for all.

"I shall not return to Cuba until it is a free country," he vows, "and I am sure that will happen before I die."

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18-12-99 0305EST

#### ---- INDEX REFERENCES ----

NEWS SUBJECT:

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MARKET SECTOR:

Newswire End Code (NND)

PRODUCT:

Non-U.S. American News/Features; European News/Features (DAS

DEE)

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SOURCE REGION:

GE WEU

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**EXHIBIT 2** 

Westlaw.



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3/17/99 Independent (London) 2 1999 WL 5988756

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Wednesday, March 17, 1999

Business

Dateline: Madrid: The Cuban who conquered Spain

#### Elizabeth Nash

YOU MIGHT think that a business devoted to biking pizzas to Spanish homes would be doubly doomed. Firstly, because of Spaniards' deep attachment to their own distinctive contribution to European fast food, the "tapa". Secondly, because a nation reputed to live in the street, returning home only for vast set-piece meals, seems hardly likely to dial up foreign food to eat from a box.

Wrong on all counts. Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals, 51, who launched his TelePizza delivery chain from a single outlet in a modest suburb of Madrid 10 years ago, has transformed the eating habits of a nation and become one of the richest men in Spain.

"Anybody could have done it. It just takes common sense and a lot of hard work," says Mr Fernandez, an energetic Cuban, naturalised Spanish, with a flashing smile and a liking for Havana cigars. He is perhaps the only chairman of a Spanish-quoted company to go to work in a short-sleeved polo shirt.

His timing was perfect. Not only did he awaken Spain's taste for pizzas, he launched upon the Madrid stock exchange in December 1996, at the moment thousands of Spaniards developed a ravenous appetite for shares. Telepizza shares were oversubscribed 46 times in the most heavily subscribed flotation Spain had ever seen.

The product was a winner with new Spanish investors because, in addition to being explosively profitable, it was new, easy to understand and fun. TelePizza became the starriest performer on the Madrid stock market by far, two years running. Profits, at 3.6bn pesetas (pounds 15m) were up 45 per cent last year, and new outlets open every day.

Last week Mr Fernandez flew to Edinburgh as president of Europe's 500 most enterprising companies. Next week he's off to Harvard to tell fast food's heartland how to conquer the world with takeaway pizzas. His is the first such company to outstrip McDonald's in a national market. Baked at 300 degrees centigrade for five minutes 50 seconds, his pizzas are delivered by more than 8,000 young bikers within half an hour. Prices are held low, margins tight and

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profits generated by sales volume. When a outlet sells more than 10,000 pizzas a month, another opens nearby to maintain the company's quality of service.

ALLEGE BUILDING WILLIAM

Mr Fernandez, who was born in Cuba of Spanish descent and brought up in the US, mounted his operation on hard-driving, hands-on American principles. His methods, so successful in retrospect, fly in the face of Spanish norms, where face-to-face customer contact is all-important and everyone expects to be kept waiting.

"The market is a battlefield: you have to gain ground and fight off others who have seen the same opportunity. I try to foster an American work ethic to get hands-on experience at all levels of the business. I don't want my executives to come straight from university and land into an office," he insists.

In the early days he took his pizzas round in his own truck, having perfected the product with some rule-of-thumb market research: he gave away pizzas to teenagers around the neighbourhood of Barrio del Pilar every day for a fortnight, experimenting with different dough mixtures until they gave him the thumbs-up.

The formula took off instantly. Spaniards loved the novelty of ordering something by phone and receiving it within minutes. Fast food was barely known here when Fernandez started out. But he spotted the same trends at work in Spain that had inspired the fast-food revolution in the US. More and more women were joining the labour market with less time to shop and cook, so families looked to fast food as an appetising alternative to traditional home cooking. The sector in Spain is only a tenth of that in Britain, but it is growing at more than 30 per cent a year.

"Leo", as even his bikers call him, fled Cuba at the age of 13 in 1960, after Fidel Castro came to power. "My father sent me to Florida to improve my English, but a year later my parents' property was expropriated and they came too."

He joined the US army in 1967, and served as a captain in the Vietnam war. He narrowly avoided being sent on a spying mission to Cambodia when a soldier he had trained in officer school at Fort Belvoir assigned him a desk job.

Speaking Spanish with a Cuban lilt and English like a Floridian, he switches effortlessly between the two. He became a soap salesman for Proctor and Gamble in 1971 and within three months broke through his annual target for selling tablets of Camay. Disgusted at the paltry \$1,000 bonus he was offered, he quit and joined Johnson and Johnson, who in 1981 sent him to run sales and marketing in Spain.

"By then I was 40 and my father told me that if you hadn't founded a business by then, it would be too late. So I decided to give it a try." He was still at Johnsons when he started putting in night- shifts at his little pizza parlour, receiving funny looks from his executive colleagues. But his detractors were soon eating their words, along with his pizzas. TelePizza breezed through Spain's 1993 recession with a 60 per cent growth in sales.

In 1997, Fernandez bought out his main Spanish competitor, Pizza World, increasing his outlets by 110 at a stroke and becoming market leader, controlling 62 per cent of the country's pizza deliveries. The move gave the company a big stake in the northeast region of Catalonia, springboard for imminent expansion into France. Mr Fernandez has persuaded Poles, Mexicans, Chileans and Portuguese

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to tuck into his pizzas, and he is looking out for other countries to conquer. Recent acquisitions in Spain include a transport firm and a cheese provider.

More than a year ago the company opened a chicken and ribs outlet in Madrid - TeleGrill - and plans to diversify into oriental, Mediterranean and Tex-Mex food. "It's important to offer variety, because you don't want to eat pizza every day," Fernandez explains with implacable and cheery logic.

He strives to turn traditional Spanish habits to his advantage, launching special summer promotions for men left alone in the city while their families are away enjoying beach holidays. Named after the Spanish nickname for such temporarily single men - who have a reputation as sexual predators - his tailor-made menus for them are called "TeleRodriguez".

TelePizza has even tuned into Spain's passion for football. Millions watch football on television six nights a week, and for matches between top teams, such as Barcelona and Real Madrid, Mr Fernandez hires extra staff who deliver hundreds of thousands of pizzas. He is discreet about own sporting loyalties, conscious that in the competitive world of football and fast food, he always comes out on top: "You see, sometimes Real Madrid wins, sometimes Barcelona wins. But TelePizza always wins."

Like hoover and xerox, TelePizza has become a generic word in Spain and the company's success has spawned dozens of wannabes, like TelePaella and TeleChino. As conclusive proof that the American way has vanquished the bastion of Spanish fast food, a leaflet just dropped through my letterbox offering, inevitably, TeleTapas.

TABULAR OR GRAPHIC MATERIAL SET FORTH IN THIS DOCUMENT IS NOT DISPLAYABLE

Caption: TelePizza boss Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals not only awakened Spain's taste for pizzas, he satisfied the appetite for shares Gloria Rodriguez

---- INDEX REFERENCES ----

Language: EN

SOURCE REGION:

EU UK WEU

EDITION:

FOREIGN

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3/17/99 INDPNDT 2

END OF DOCUMENT

**EXHIBIT 3** 

## **GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**

**DEPARTMENT OF CONSUMER AND REGULATORY AFFAIRS** 

203243



# CERTIFICATE

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that all applicable provisions of the District of Columbia NonProfit Corporation Act have been complied with and accordingly, this CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION is hereby issued to:

CITIZENS FOR LIBERTY IN CUBA

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of this office to be affixed as of the 1st day of September, 2000.

Lloyd J. Jordan Director

Patricia E. Grays
Acting Administrator

**Business Regulation Administration** 

Patricia E. Grays

Superintendent of Corporations .

**Corporations Division** 

Anthony A. Williams Mayor

### ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION

### OF

### Citizens for Liberty in Cuba

TO: Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs
Business Regulation Administration
Corporations Division
941 North Capitol Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

We, the undersigned natural persons of the age of twenty-one years or more, acting as incorporators of a corporation under the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation

Act (D.C. code, 1981 edition, Title 29, Chapter 5), adopt the following Articles of Incorporation:

FIRST: The name of the corporation is Citizens for Liberty in Cuba (the "Corporation").

SECOND: The period of the Corporation's duration is perpetual.

THIRD: The Corporation is organized exclusively to engage in the promotion of social welfare within the meaning of Section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, as now in effect or as may hereafter be amended ("the Code"). The purposes for which the Corporation is formed are:

- A. To promote respect for human rights, democracy, and individual freedom in Cuba; and
- B. To engage in any lawful act or activity for which corporations may be organized under the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act.

In furtherance of its corporate purposes, the Corporation shall have all the general powers enumerated in § 29-505 of the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act, as now



in effect or as may hereafter be amended, together with the power to solicit grants and contributions for such purposes.

FOURTH: The Corporation shall have no members.

FIFTH: The Corporation shall have no capital stock.

SIXTH: There shall be at least three Directors who, except for the initial Directors whose names are set forth in these Articles, shall be elected or appointed as provided by the Bylaws.

SEVENTH: No part of the net earnings of the Corporation shall inure to the benefit of, or be distributable to, any director or officer of the Corporation or any other private person, except that the Corporation shall be authorized and empowered to pay reasonable expenses and reasonable compensation for services rendered and to make payments and distributions in furtherance of the purposes set forth in Article THIRD hereof, and at no time shall the Corporation be operated primarily as a social club for the benefit, pleasure or recreation of its members.

No substantial part of the activities of the Corporation shall consist of participation or intervention in any political campaign (including by publication or distribution of statements) on behalf of any candidate for public office. To the extent that Code section 501 is at any time amended to permit participation or intervention to a greater extent by an organization subject to its provisions, the Corporation shall be authorized to carry on such activities to the extent permitted by Code section 501 as amended.

Notwithstanding any other provision of the Articles of Incorporation, the Corporation shall not directly or indirectly carry on any activity not permitted to be carried on by a corporation exempt from federal income tax under § 501(c)(4) of the Code or the corresponding provision of any future federal tax code.

EIGHTH: In the event of dissolution or final liquidation of the Corporation, the Board of Directors shall:

(i) pay or make provision for payment of all the Corporation's liabilities;

- (ii) return, transfer, or convey (or make provision therefor) all assets held by
  the Corporation upon condition requiring such return, transfer, or
  conveyance in the event of dissolution of the Corporation; and
- (iii) distribute the Corporation's remaining assets as the Board of Directors shall determine.

NINTH: These Articles of Incorporation, and the Bylaws of the Corporation, may be amended by a vote of a majority of the Directors then in office.

TENTH: The number of Directors constituting the initial Board of Directors is three, and the names and addresses, including street and number and zip code, of the persons who are to serve as the initial Directors until the first regular meeting of the Board of Directors, or until their successors are appointed and qualified, are as follows:

Leopoldo Fernandez Carlos de la Cruz

Nidwalden, Switzerland Key Biscayne, FL 33149

Otto J. Reich

Arlington, VA 22209

ELEVENTH: The names and addresses, including street and number and zip code, of the incorporators of the Corporation are:

Otto J. Reich Jennifer M. Fernandez

Arlington, VA 22209 ... Alexandria, VA 22304

Connie D. Reich

McLean, VA 22101

TWELFTH: The address, including street and number, of the Corporation's initial registered office is 1090 Vermont Ave., NW, Washington, DC 2005, and the name of its initial registered agent at such address is Corporation Service Company.

Otto J. Reich

Arlington, VA 22209

Alexandria, VA 22304

Connie D. Reich

McLean, VA 22101

Date: 9-1-2000	· .
	) ) SS )

I, T. Montashe'me a notary public, hereby certify that on the St day of 2000, personally appeared before me O.T. Leich, who being first duly sworn, signed the foregoing document as incorporator and averred that the statements therein contained are true.

Notary Public

SEAL

FARIDON MOHTASHEME NOTARY COMMISSION EXPIRES 12/31/03

Date: 9-1-2000

Ś SS.

I, Y-(Mo) as help enotary public, hereby certify that on the statements therein contained are true.

Notary Public

SEAT.

FARIDON MOHTASHEME NOTARY COMMISSION EXPIRES 12/31/03

2000	Date: <u>9-1-</u>
) ) ss	
, ,	

1,2 Months a notary public, hereby certify that on the 1st day of 2000, personally appeared before me ( ) Reich, who being first duly sworn, signed the foregoing document as incorporator, and averred that the statements therein contained are true.

Notary Public

**SEAL** 

FARIDON MOHTASHEME NOTARY COMMISSION EXPIRES 12/31/03

**EXHIBIT 4** 

## **GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**

DEPARTMENT OF CONSUMER AND REGULATORY AFFAIRS



# CERTIFICATE

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that all applicable provisions of the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act have been complied with and accordingly, this CERTIFICATE OF AMENDMENT is hereby issued to:

CITIZENS FOR LIBERTY IN CUBA

Name Changed To

**CUBALIBERTAD** 

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of this office to be affixed as of the 17th day of November, 2000.

Carlynn M. Fuller Acting Director

Patricia E. Grays Acting Administrator

Business Regulation Administration

Denise M. Edelin

Act. Assistant Superintendent of Corporations

**Corporations Division** 

## ARTICLES OF AMENDMENT to the ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION OF

### CITIZENS FOR LIBERTY IN CUBA

The Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs District of Columbia

Pursuant to the provisions of the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act, the undersigned adopts the following Articles of Amendment to its Articles of Incorporation:

FIRST: The name of the corporation is: Citizens for Liberty in Cuba

SECOND: The following amendment of the Articles of Incorporation was adopted by the Corporation in the manner prescribed by the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act:

Article First is hereby amended in its entirety as follows:

" FIRST: The name of the corporation is CubaLibertad (the "Corporation"). "

THIRD: The amendment was adopted by unanimous written consent of the Board of Directors of the Corporation.

Date: -September \_\_\_, 2000

October 6

(CORPORATE SEAL

Citizens for Liberty in Cuba

Attest:

Its Secretary

NTN 17 STO

#### Westlaw.

2001 WL 821796 (I.R.S.) 2001 WL 821796 (I.R.S.) (Cite as: 2001 WL 821796 (I.R.S.))

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Internal Revenue Service (I.R.S.)

Exemption Ruling

\*1 CITIZENS FOR LIBERTY IN CUBA July 17, 2001

Citizens for Liberty in Cuba c/o Ambassador Otto J. Reich 5315 Lee Highway Arlington, VA 22207

Employer Identification Number: 54-2003328

Issuing Specialist: Danny Smith 50-06769

Toll Free Customer Service: 877-829-5500

Accounting Period Ending: December 31

Foundation Status Classification: 509(a)(1) & 170(b)(1)(A)(vi)

Advance Ruling Period Begins: September 1, 2000

Advance Ruling Period Ends: December 31, 2004

Form 990 Required: Yes

Dear Applicant:

Based on the information supplied, and assuming your operations will be as stated in your application for recognition of exemption, we have determined you are exempt from federal income tax under section 501(a) of the Internal Revenue Code as an organization described in section 501(c)(3).

Because you are a newly created organization, we are not now making a final determination of your foundation status under section 509(a) of the Code. However, we have determined that you can reasonably be expected to be a publicly supported organization described in the section(s) indicated above. Accordingly, you will be treated as a publicly supported organization, and not as a private foundation, during an advance ruling period. This advance ruling period begins and ends on the dates indicated above.

Please notify the Ohio Tax Exempt and Government Entities (TE/GE) Customer Service office if there is any change in your name, address, sources of support,

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2001 WL 821796 (I.R.S.) 2001 WL 821796 (I.R.S.) (Cite as: 2001 WL 821796 (I.R.S.)) Page 2

purposes or method of operation. If you amend your organizational document or bylaws, please send a copy of the amendment to that office. The mailing address is: Internal Revenue Service, TE/GE Customer Service, P.O. Box 2508, Cincinnati, OH 45201.

Prior to the end of your advance ruling period, the Ohio TE/GE office will send you a letter requesting the information needed to determine whether you have met the requirements of the applicable support test during the advance ruling period if you establish that you have been a publicly supported organization, you will be classified as a section 509(a)(1) or 509(a)(2) organization as long as you continue to meet the requirements of the applicable support test. If you do not meet the public support requirements during the advance ruling period, you will be classified as a private foundation for future periods. Also, if you are classified as a private foundation, you will be treated as a private foundation from the date of your inception for purposes of sections 507(d) and 4940.

Donors may deduct contributions to you as provided in section 170 of the Code Bequests, legacies, devises, transfers, or gifts to you or for your use are deductible for federal estate and gift tax purposes if they meet the applicable provisions of Code sections 2055, 2106, and 2522.

Donors (including private foundations) may rely on the advance ruling that you are not a private foundation until 90 days after your advance ruling period ends If you submit the information that will be requested by the Ohio TE/GE office within the 90 days, donors may continue to rely on the advance ruling until a final determination of your foundation status is made. However, if notice that you will no longer be treated as the type of organization indicated above is published in the Internal Revenue Bulletin, donors may not rely on this advance ruling after the date of such publication. Also, donors (other than private foundations) may not rely on the classification indicated above if they were in part responsible for, or were aware of, the act that resulted in your loss of that classification, or if they acquired knowledge that the Internal Revenue Service had given notice that you would be removed from that classification. Private foundations may rely on the classification as long as you were not directly or indirectly controlled by them or by disqualified persons with respect to them. However, private foundations may not rely on the classification indicated above if they acquired knowledge that the Internal Revenue Service had given notice that you would be removed from that classification.

\*2 You are liable for taxes under the Federal Insurance Contributions Act (social security taxes) on remuneration of \$100 or more you pay to each of your employees during a calendar year. You are not liable for the tax imposed under the Federal Unemployment Tax Act.

If it is determined that you are a private foundation, you will be subject to excise taxes under Chapter 42 of the Code. You also may be subject to other federal excise taxes. If you are involved in an excess benefit transaction, that transaction might be subject to the excise taxes of section 4958. In this letter we are not determining whether any of your present or proposed arrangements would be considered an excess benefit transaction resulting in tax under section 4958.

2001 WL 821796 (I.R.S.) 2001 WL 821796 (I.R.S.) (Cite as: 2001 WL 821796 (I.R.S.))

Contribution deductions are allowable to donors only to the extent that their contributions are gifts, with no consideration received. Ticket purchases and similar payments in conjunction with fund-raising events may not necessarily qualify as fully deductible contributions, depending on the circumstances. If your organization conducts fund-raising events such as benefit dinners, shows, membership drives, etc., where something of value is received in return for payments, you are required to provide a written disclosure statement informing the donor of the fair market value of the specific items or services being provided. To do this you should, in advance of the event, determine the fair market value of the benefit received and state it in your fund-raising materials such as solicitations, tickets, and receipts in such a way that the donor can determine how much is deductible and how much is not. Your disclosure statement should be made, at the latest, at the time payment is received. Subject to certain exceptions, your disclosure responsibility applies to any fund-raising circumstance where each complete payment, including the contribution portion, exceeds \$75. In addition, donors must have written substantiation from the charity for any charitable contribution of \$250 or more. For further details regarding these substantiation and disclosure requirements, see the enclosed copy of Publication 1771. For additional guidance in this area, see Publication 1391, Deductibility of Payments Made to Organizations Conducting Fund-Raising Events, which is available at many IRS offices or by calling 1-800-TAX-FORM (1-800-829-3676).

In the heading of this letter we have indicated whether you must file Form 990; Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax. If "Yes" is indicated, you are required to file Form 990 only if your gross receipts each year are normally more than \$25,000. If your gross receipts each year are not normally more than \$25,000, we ask that you establish that you are not required to file Form 990 by completing Part I of that Form for your first year. Thereafter, you will not be required to file a return until your gross receipts exceed the \$25,000 minimum. For guidance in determining if your gross receipts are "normally" not more than the \$25,000 limit, see the instructions for the Form 990. If a return is required, it must be filed by the 15th day of the fifth month after the end of your annual accounting period. A penalty of \$20 a day is charged when a return is filed late, unless there is reasonable cause for the delay. The maximum penalty charged cannot exceed \$10,000 or 5 percent of your gross receipts for the year, whichever is less. For organizations with gross receipts exceeding \$1,000,000 in any year, the penalty is \$100 per day per return, unless there is reasonable cause for the delay. The maximum penalty for an organization with gross receipts exceeding \$1,000,000 shall not exceed \$50,000. This penalty may also be charged if a return is not complete, so please be sure your return is complete before you file it. Form 990 should be filed with the Ogden Service Center, Ogden, UT 84201-0027.

\*3 You are required to make your Form 990 available for public inspection for three years after the later of the due date of the return or the date the return is filed. You are also required to make available for public inspection your exemption application, any supporting documents, and this exemption letter. Copies of these documents must be provided to any individual upon written or in person request without charge other than reasonable fees for copying and postage. You may fulfill this requirement by placing these documents on the Internet. Penalties may be imposed for failure to comply with these requirements. Additional information

2001 WL 821796 (I.R.S.) 2001 WL 821796 (I.R.S.)

(Cite as: 2001 WL 821796 (I.R.S.))

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is available in Publication 557, Tax-Exempt Status for Your Organization, or you may call our toll free number shown above.

You are not required to file federal income tax returns unless you are subject to the tax on unrelated business income under section 511 of the Code. If you are subject to this tax, you must file an income tax return on Form 990- T, Exempt Organization Business Income Tax Return. In this letter we are not determining whether any of your present or proposed activities are unrelated trade or business as defined in section 513 of the Code.

Please use the employer identification number indicated in the heading of this letter on all returns you file and in all correspondence with the Internal Revenue Service. Because this letter could help resolve any questions about your exempt status, you should keep it in your permanent records. If you have any questions about this letter, or about filing requirements, excise, employment, or other federal taxes, please contact the Ohio TE/GE Customer Service office at 877-829-5500 (a toll free number) or correspond with that office using the address indicated above.

Sincerely,

Gerald V. Sack

Manager, Exempt Organizations

Technical Group 4

2001 WL 821796 (I.R.S.)

END OF DOCUMENT



#### Florida Department of State

Division of Corporations
Public Access System
Katherine Harris, Secretary of State

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TO:

Division of Corporations

Fax Number : (850)205-0383

From:

Account Name : MURAI, WALD, BIONDO, MORENO, P.A.

Account Number: 076150002103 Phone: (305)358-5900 Fax Number: (305)358-4842

AL

#### FOREIGN NON-PROFIT QUALIFICATION

Citizens for Liberty in Cuba, Inc.

Certificate of Status	1
Certified Copy	0
Page Count	03
Estimated Charge	\$78.75

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## APPLICATION BY FOREIGN NOT FOR PROFIT CORPORATION FOR AUTHORIZATION TO CONDUCT ITS AFFAIRS IN FLORIDA

IN COMPLIANCE WITH SECTION 617.1503, FLORIDA STATUTES, THE FOLLOWING IS SUBMITTED TO REGISTER A FOREIGN NOT FOR PROFIT CORPORATION FOR AUTHORIZATION TO CONDUCT ITS AFFAIRS IN-THE STATE OF FLORIDA:

1. Citizens for Liberty in Cubs. I (Name of corporation: must include the word "INCO in language as will clearly indicate that it is a corpor	ORPORATED" ration instead of	fa natural persi	on or partnership if	abbreviations of some so	of like import	i .
present. "Company" or "Co." may not be used as a	corporate suffix	by a nonprofit	corporation.)	•		
2. District of Columbia	3.	_54-20033	128			
(State or country under the law of which it is incorp	(bsteroe		(FEI number,	if applicable)	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	<del>-</del> .
A Contomber 1 2000	5	nemetus	1			
4. September 1 2000 (Date of Incorporation)		(Duration:	Year corp. will cease	to exist or "per	petual")	_
6. October 1, 2001			•	•		
(Date corporation first conducted Affairs in F	lorida - See sec	tions 617.1501	, 617.1302, and 81	7.135, F.S.)		_
• •	_					
7. 5315 Lee Highway, Arlington, VA	22207 (Principal office	ce address)		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	<del></del>	
155 SW 57 AVenue, Miami, FL 331	•	•	•	i		
133 SW 37 Avenue, Mant, FL 3310	(Corrent mails	og address)		<del>`</del>		<u>-5</u> 2
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g Operating an office of the non	for profi	t corpora	tion and soli	citing con	itrButi	JE:
8. (Furpose(s) of corporation authorize						<u> </u>
		•				j≺¦
9. Name and street address of Florida register	ed agent: (P.	O. Box or Ma	il Drop Box <u>NOT</u>	acceptable)	`~ ~	, <del>, ,</del> ,
		•	:	:		ိုင္သ
Name: Murai Wald Riondo & M	oreno. P.A	۱.			2	:≧:
					×	, (T)
Office Address: 25 S.B. 2nd Avenne, S	uite 900			•	-	
				:		
		Florida	33131			
(City)			(Zip Cod			
10. Registered agent's acceptance:			:	:		
Having been named as registered arent and t	lo accept serv	ice of process	for the above sta	ited corporatio	n at the pla	ice
designated in this application, I hereby accept a further agree to comply with the provisions	i the appoint	ment as regis	tered agent and d	gree to act in t	this capacit	<i>y</i> .
duties, and I am familiar with and accept the	obligations of	f my position	es registered agi	e <b>nt</b>	mile of ta	,
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/	Registered ages	ut a 21 Euronie)	•			
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11. Attached is a certificate of existence duly authenticated, not more than 90 days prior to delivery of this application to the Department of State, by the Secretary of State or other official having custody of corporate records in the jurisdiction under the law of which it is incorporated.

12. N	vames and	addresses	of	officers	and/or	directors
-------	-----------	-----------	----	----------	--------	-----------

irector:	,	•			
irector: NYMENE: li	no I Piedra			<del></del>	<del></del>
Address:		·		·	·
Wa	shington, DC 20016	•			
Director:	Orlando P. Rodrigue	22		<del>=</del>	
Address:	<u>:</u> _			·	
•	Tampa, FL 33624				
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	•				•
President L5n Address:	o J. Piedra				
Was	hington, DC 20016		·		
Vice President:					
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Address;		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			<del></del>
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Secretary:				••	<del> </del>
Address:	·			~	
Treasurer Kat	hryn J. Griesinger				
<b></b>			D.C. 20016		
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	come vou mestamat an add	endum to the sortion	etion listing additional of	ficers and/or	directors
NOTE: If neces					
NOTE: If neces		0_			
13.	Mil.	e Land	ficer listed in number 12	of the applica	tion

Fax Audit No. H01000109274 0

# GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT OF CONSUMER AND REGULATORY AFFAIRS



### CERTIFICATE

SECRETARY OF STATE TALLAHASSEE FLORIDA

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that there were received and accepted for record in the Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs, Corporations Division, on the 1st day of September, 2000 Articles of Incorporation of:

#### CITIZENS FOR LIBERTY IN CUBA

The above named corporation is duly incorporated and existing pursuant to and by virtue of the Nonprofit Corporation Act of the District of Columbia and authorized to <u>conduct its affairs</u> in the District of Columbia as of the date mentioned above.

WE FURTHER CERTIFY that the above entitled corporation is at the time of issuance of this certificate in <u>Good Standing</u>, according to the records of the Corporations Division, having filed all reports required by the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of this office to be affixed this 16th day of October, 2001.

David Clark
DIRECTOR

Elizabeth O. Kim

Administrator

Business Regulation Administration

Patricia E. Grays

Superintendent of Corporations

Corporations Division

Anthony A. Williams Mayor

Fax Audit No. #01000109274 0



#### Florida Department of State

Division of Corporations Public Access System Katherine Harris, Secretary of State

Electronic Filing Cover Sheet

Note: Please print this page and use it as a cover sheet. Type the fax audit number (shown below) on the top and bottom of all pages of the document.

(((H01000109271 6)))

Note: DO NOT hit the REFRESH/RELOAD button on your browser from this page. Doing so will generate another cover sheet.

To:

Division of Corporations

Fax Number

: (950) 205-0383

from:

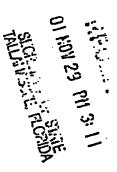
Account Name : MORAI, WALD, BIONDO, MORENO, P.A. Account Number : 076150002103

(305) 358-5900 Phone (305) 358-4842 Fax Number

#### FOREIGN NON-PROFIT QUALIFICATION,

CubaLibertad, Inc.

Certificate of Status	1
Certified Copy	0
Page Count	0,3
Estimated Charge	\$78.75



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## APPLICATION BY FOREIGN NOT FOR PROFIT CORPORATION FOR AUTHORIZATION TO CONDUCT ITS AFFAIRS IN FLORIDA

IN COMPLIANCE WITH SECTION 617.1503, FLORIDA STATUTES, THE FOLLOWING IS SUBMITTED TO REGISTER A FOREIGN NOT FOR PROFIT CORPORATION FOR AUTHORIZATION TO CONDUCT ITS AFFAIRS IN THE STATE OF FLORIDA:

Cubalibertad, Inc.					
	- 477 A GOOD	- PCODDOD ATIONS	anda an abbassis		
(Name of corporation: must include the word "INCO in language as will clearly indicate that it is a corpora	o "LLI LAKUTAK	or "COKPUKA11ON" OF W	ords of Eddrevia	nons of hite import	
present. "Company" or "Co.", may not be used as a re	villon merend of s	ov a nonnrofit cornoration.	y nor so cou	snoco to the bune s	•
The state of the s			•		
District of Columbia	3	54-20033322			
(State or country under the law of which it is incorpo	orated)		mber, if applicab	le)	•
A STATE OF THE STA	-				7
September 1, 2000	5	perpetual			
(Date of Incorporation)	· .	(Duration: Year corp. wi	n cease to exist o	r "perpental")	1.
		•			
October 1, 2001		212 1301 312 1302	- 2 8 17 166 PA		<b>.</b>
(Date corporation first conducted Affairs in Flo	onds - See sech	ons 617.1301, 617.1302, 6	na 617.133, F.S.	)	
					· · · :
5315 Lee Highway, Arlington, VA	22207		<u></u>		
	Principal office				≥
155 SV 57 Avenue, Miami, FL 3314	44 (Florid	a address)	: '		· i
	Current mailing	adoress)			-≥
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Operating an office of the non	for profit	corporation and	gnitipiloa	contribution	ığı,
(Purpose(s) of corporation authorized	d in horor state	or country to be extried ou	t in the state of P	orida)	-1
					귿
Name and street address of Florida registere	d agent: (P.O	. Box or Mail Drop Box	NOT acceptab		ORID
	•	•			$\cong$
					⋝
Name: Murai Wald Biondo & Mo	Teno, P.A.				
office Address: 25 S.R. 2nd Avenue. Su	the DAD				
processing the second of the s		•••	•	Karala a	
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. Wilami	F	lorida <u>33131</u>	<del></del>		•.
(City)		(2)	p Code)		
			· .		
10. Registered agent's acceptance:					
Having been named as registered agent and to	accept servic	e of process for the abo	ve stated corpo	ration at the plac	e
designated in this application, I hereby accept	the appointm	ent as registered agent	and agree to a	d in this capacity	
I further agree to comply with the provisions duties, and I am familiar with and accept the	oj au siannes obligacione of	reiative to the proper a	na complete pe	rjormance of my	
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	egistered agent	( cignature)			
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11. Attached is a certificate of existence duly authenticated, not more than 90 days prior to delivery of this application to the Department of State, by the Secretary of State or other official having custody of corporate records in the jurisdiction under the law of which it is incorporated.

Fax Audit No. H01000109271 6

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D.C. 20016	
	ers and/or directors.
	D. C. 20016.

Fax Audit No. B01000109271 6

### GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

DEPARTMENT OF CONSUMER AND REGULATORY AFFAIRS



#### CERTIFICATE

SECRETARY OF STATE
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

01 NOV 29

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that there were received and accepted for record in the Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs, Corporations Division, on the 1st day of September, 2000 Articles of Incorporation of:

#### CUBALIBERTAD

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WE FURTHER CERTIFY that the above entitled corporation is at the time of issuance of this certificate in <u>Good Standing</u>, according to the records of the Corporations Division, having filed all reports required by the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of this office to be affixed this 16th day of October, 2001.

David Clark DIRECTOR

Elizabeth O. Kim

Administrator

Business Regulation Administration

Patricia E. Grays

Superintendent of Corporations

Corporations Division

Anthony A. Williams Mayor

SIGNATURE:

#### 2003 NOT-FOR-PROFIT CORPORATION UNIFORM BUSINESS REPORT (UBR)

#### Feb 03, 2003 8:00 am Secretary of State DOCUMENT # F0100006135 1. Entity Name 02-03-2003 90141 032 \*\*\* CITIZENS FOR LIBERTY IN CUBA. INC. Mailing Address Principal Place of Business 5315 LEE HIGHWAY 155 SW 57 AVE. MIAMI FL 33144 **ARLINGTON VA 22207** 3. Mailing Address 2. Principal Place of Business Suite, Apt. #, etc. Suite. Apt. # etc. IN CHECK HERE IF MAKING CHANGES City & State 4. FEI Number 54-2003328 Applied For Not Applicable . Country Zip Country \$8.75-Addit 5. Certificate of Status Desired 6. Name and Address of Current Registered Agent 7. Name and Address of New Registered Agent MURAI WALD BIONDO & MORENO, P.A. Street Address (P.O. Box Number is Not Acceptable) 25 S.E. 2ND AVE. SUITE 900 MIAM! FL 33131 Zio Code 8. The above named entity submits this statement for the purpose of changing its registered office or registered agent, or both, in the State of Florida. I am familiar with, and accept the obligations of registered agent. SIGNATURE DATE Signature, typed or printed name of registered agent and title if applicable (NOTE: Registered Agent signature required when reinstat 9. Election Campaign Financing \$5.00 May Be Make Check Payable to FILE NOW: FEE IS \$61.25 Trust Fund Contribution Added to Fees Florida Department of State OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS ADDITIONS/CHANGES TO OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS IN 10 10. 11. Delete TITLE PRESIDENT TITLE PIEDRA, LINO J LEODOLVO NAME STREET ADDRES STREET ADDRESS CITY-ST-ZIP CITY-ST-ZIP ☐ Addition MLE Delete ☐ Change RODRIGUEZ ORLANDO P NUME NAME STREET ADDRESS STREET ADDRES C!TY-ST-ZIP CITY-ST-ZIP DIRECTOR TITLE Delete tiTL F ☐ Change Addition MAURICIO CLAVER. CARONE CUTILLAS, MANUEL JORGE NAME NAME STREET ADDRESS STREET ADDRES CITY-ST-ZIP CITY-ST-71P TREASURER SSCRUTAR ☐ Change Addition Detete TITLE MLE GRIESINGER, KATHRYN J GUS MACHADO NALIF NAME STREET ADDRESS STREET ADDRESS CITY-ST-ZIP CITY-ST-ZIP O Detete TITLE ☐ Change ☐ Addition TITLE NAME NAME STREET AUDRESS STREET ADDRESS CITY-ST-ZIP CITY-ST-ZIP O Delete MLE ☐ Change ☐ Addition NAME NAME STREET ADDRESS STREET ADDRESS CITY-ST-ZIP 12. I hereby certify that the information supplied with this filing does not qualify for the exemption stated in Section 119.07(3)(i), Florida Statutes. I further certify that the information indicated on this report or supplemental report is true and accurate and that my signature shall have the same legal effect as if made under oath; that I am an officer or director of the corporation or the receiver or trustee empowered to execute this report as required by Chapter 617, Florida Statutes; and that my name appears in Block 10 or Block 11.% changed, or on an attachment with an address, with all other like empowered.

**FILED** 

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COMMITTEES FAX	NUMBER				
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2. DATE					
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FEU	Form 1 (Reviewd 02/2003) Page 2
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(b)	This controlled is an authorized committee, and is NOT a principal campaign controlled. (Compile the candida information below.)
Name of Candidate	
Centedati Perty Affi	
(d)	This committee supports/opposes only one condidate, and is NOT an eutherized committee.
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SCHEDULE B (FEC Form 3X	Use seperate schedule(s)	FOR LINE	PAGE 62/67	
ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS		(check only one)		☐ 24 ☐ 25 ☐ 26
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Any information copied from such Reports an or for commercial purposes, other than using	d Statements may not be sold or use the name and address of any politics	d by any person I committee to	for the purpose of solicit contributions	solicating contributions from such committee
NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Ful)				
U.SCube Democracy Political Acti	on Cammittee			
Ful Name (Lest. First, Middle Initial)			Transmiller III	SB21B.4319
A. Mr. Cesar Calvet			Date of Disburs	ement
Malling Address P.O. Box 3833, St MCO-1121			11 1	9 2003
City Orlando	State Zip Code FL 32801		Amount of Each	botted eight themserudelia
	FL 32601		ĺ	2210.00
Purpose of Disbursement In-kind - Cataring Costs and Room Rantal	l			2.5.55
Candidate Name		Category/ Type		
Office Sought: House	l Disbursement For:	1,360		
Benste	Primary General		<b>[</b>	
President	Other (specify)			
State: District				
Ful Name (Last. First, Middle tritial)  B. Mr. Mauricio Claver-Carone, Esq.			Transaction ID: Data of Dishurs	SB21 B.4508
Itil. Irlaulicio Ciavel-Carolle, Caq.			12 3	
Mailing Address 2501 M Street, N. #808				
City Washington	State Zip Code DC 20037		Amount of Each	Olsburgement this Period
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In-kind - Consulting				
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President	Other (specify)			
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C. Mr. Ernesto de la Fe			Date of Disburs	
Mailing Address 7370 Vistalmar St	reel	<del></del>	12 0	4 2003
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# Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs Business Regulation Administration Corporations Division Corporation Abstract Print Out

#### Corporation Detail -

File No: 203246

Inc Date: 09/01/2000 Type Code: DNP

Country: UNITED STATES

State: DC

DC Status: AC

Status Date: 00/00/0000 Fee: 50.00

Bundle No: D-59

Name: CUBA DEMOCRACY ADVOCATES, INC.

**Agent: Corporation Service Company** 

Address: 1090 Vermont Ave., N.W.

Zip Code: **20005** Zip 4:

Stock:

Retire Date: 00/00/0000 Retired Box:

Dollar Value: .00

Liber No:

Folio No:

Perpetual:

Duration: 00/00/0000 Goodstandings:

Special Note:

Miscellaneous:

:	File No	Filed Date	Туре	Description	Fee Paid	Bundie No
	203246	09/05/2003	NCHD	NAME CHANGE AMENDMENT	60.00	A0472
	203246	11/17/2000	NCHD	NAME CHANGE AMENDMENT	45.00	A0133

Reports:

:	File No	Year	Rcvd Date	Filed Date	Status	Status Date	Bundle	Fee Paid
	203246	2005	01/20/2005	01/20/2005	ОК		A0602	75.00
	203246	2003	05/22/2003	05/22/2003	ОК		A0424	115.00
	203246	2001	08/13/2001	08/13/2001	ОК		A0238	80.00

THIS EXHIBIT HAS BEEN DELETED

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04/14/2004 15:05

**FEC** 

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or	for commercial purposes, other than using the	name and add	tress of any politi	cal commillee t	o solicit contributions from such committee.
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7	U.SCuba Democracy Political Action (	Committee			
	Full Name (Lest, First, Middle Initial)		<del></del>		
A.	Mr. Amundo Chapeli				Date of Receipt
	Mailing Address 390 Heather Lane				01 19 2004
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	#608				03 31 2004
	City	State	Zip Code		Transaction ID: SA11A1.5021
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C.	Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Mr. Mautolo Claver-Gerone, Esq.				Date of Receipt
-	Mailing Address 2501 M Street, N.W.				****
	#608	<b>.</b>			03 31 2004
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	Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc.	Executive			Costs
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FEC Schedule A ( Form 3X ) Rov. 02/2003

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Signature of Tr	easurer Be <u>ch</u>	mically Filed	by Mr. G	us Mechado			. 0	late (	0 7	<b>a</b> B	2004
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⇤	NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Ful)							
$ \rangle$	U.SCuba Democracy Political Action	Committee						
<b>Д</b> .	Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Mr. Mauricio Clover Carone. Esq.				Date of Receipt			
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	City	State	Zip Code		Transaction (D: SA11A1.5140			
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	Mailing Address 2825 Granada Blvd. #24	•			05 11 2004			
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FEC Schedule A ( Porm 3X ) Rov. 02/2003

FEC FORM 3X

# REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

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SCHEDULE A (FEC FOR ITEMIZED RECEIPTS	n 3X)	Use separate : or each catego Detailed Suma	ory of the	FOR LINE NUMBER: PAGE 11/47 (check anly one)  X 116 11b 11c 12
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NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full) U.SCubs Democracy Politics				
Pull Neme (Lest, First, Middle Initial A. Mr. Mauricio Claver Curone. Esq. Meiling Address 2501 M Street				Date of Receipt
#608 City	State	Zip Code		Transaction ID: SA11A1.5482
Washington	DC	20037		Amount of Each Receipt this Period
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Name of Employer Cuba Democracy Advocates. Inc. Repelpt For: Primary General Other (specify) •	–	n e Director a Yaar-to-Date ♥	3460.91	In-kind - Travel Expenses
Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial B. Mr. Mauricio Claver Carono, Esq.	, l			Date of Receipt
Mailing Address 2501 M Street #808	•			09 30 2004
City	etelS	Zip Coda		Transaction ID: SA11A1.5344
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Receipt For.	Aggregate	Year-to-Date V		7
Primery General Other (specify) ♥			3670.91	
Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial C. Mr. Gastee Cobb	<u> </u>			Date of Receipt
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FEC Schedule A ( Form 3X ) Rov. 02/2005

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FEC FORM 3X

## REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

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FORM 3X	F			An Authoriz		ttee		Office Use	· Only
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/	_				
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A.	Mr. Mauricio Claver-Carona. Esq.				Date of Receipt
	Mailing Address 2501 M Street, N.W. #608				11 16 2004
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	federal political committee.	C			76.74
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	Other (specify) w			41 <del>9</del> 7.70	
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В.	Mr. Mauricio Claver-Carone, Esq.				Date of Receipt
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	federal political committee.	С			17.18
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FEC FORM 3X

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		October 15 Quarterly R	 i		Report	for the:	Convention	1(12C)	Speci	el (12G)	
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		July 31 Mid Report(No Year Only)	n-elaction	(d)	Past -	Election	General (3	)G)	Runo	(30R)	Special (308)
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SCHEDULE A (FEC Form 3X) ITEMIZED RECEIPTS		Use separate schedule(s) or each category of the Detailed Summary Page		FOR LINE NUMBER: PAGE 7/18 [check anly ane]    X 178
Any information copied from such Reports and S or for commercial purposes, other than using the	yan ements may abo box amen :	not be sold or u	sed by any personal committee to	son for the purpose of soliciting contributions
NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Ful) U.SCuba Democracy Political Action				
Full Name (Lest, First, Mildde Initial) A. Mr. Markio Clover Carone. Esq. Mailing Address 2501 M Street, N.W. #608 City Washington FEC ID number of contributing tederal political committee.	State DC C	Zip Code 20037		Deta of Receipt  1 1 2 3 2 0 0 4  Transaction ID: SA11A1.5885  Amount of Each Receipt this Period  25.28
Name of Employer Cubs Democracy Advocates. Inc. Repelpt For. Primary General Other (specify)	Occupation Executive Appregate		4460.13	In-kind - FedEx
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**EXHIBIT 15** 

#### The Miami Herald Tue, July 12, 2005

### New lobby kills threats to embargo

A young Cuban-American lobbyist and a first-term Florida congresswoman were credited with defeating efforts to ease U.S. sanctions against Havana.

#### BY PABLO BACHELET

WASHINGTON - As efforts to weaken U.S. sanctions on Cuba seemed to gain strength on Capitol Hill last year, a young Cuban-American lobbyist and a first-term congresswoman from Florida swung into action to quash the initiatives.

Mauricio Claver-Carone, a director of the U.S.-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee, contacted more than 120 lawmakers, donated money to their campaigns and urged them to reject any easing of the trade and travel sanctions.

With first-term Rep. Debbie Wasserman Schultz, a Pembroke Pines Democrat, urging her brethren to vote against the initiatives, Congress rejected five of the initiatives two weeks ago.

Together, Claver-Carone and Wasserman Schultz represent a reorganization of the Cuban-American lobby in Washington that seems to be recovering the clout it had when the late Jorge Mas Canosa ran the Cuban American National Foundation.

"The [pro] embargo side worked the issue very hard, and there's no doubt that the campaign contributions played a part in it," said Philip Peters, a critic of the sanctions and member of the Lexington Institute think tank in Arlington, Va.

The lobbying seems to have worked. Reversing a five-year trend in which supporters of easing U.S. sanctions against Cuba were gaining strength in Congress, the House in late June rejected four initiatives relaxing restrictions, including one amendment lifting a ban on sending soap and toothpaste in gift parcels to the island and another letting Cuban Americans travel more to Cuba. The Senate rejected a measure allowing more humanitarian visits to Cuba.

"Our community decided to get involved in those races from the get-go, form relations with candidates from both parties and explain to them the Cuban tragedy," said Claver-Carone, 29, a former U.S. Treasury Department lawyer.

#### CANF LOST MUSCLE

CANF, once considered one of the most effective lobbies in Washington, began losing some of its muscle after Mas Canosa died in 1997. Some of its hard-line members split and created the Cuban Liberty Council, while CANF Executive Director Joe Garcia resigned to support a Democratic Party campaign during President Bush's reelection effort in 2004.

Claver-Carone's U.S.-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee -- a PAC is a special interest group registered to contribute to election campaigns -- was created in August of 2003. Wasserman Schultz helped found the Cuba Democracy Caucus, a bipartisan group of pro-embargo legislators, in April.

CANF is officially neutral on the Cuba Democracy PAC, but some of its members support it. "The idea was to find a point where everybody could rally," said Dennis Hays, a former CANF vice president and U.S. diplomat. "If you've been to South Florida at all, you know there's a tendency to splinter off into different groups."

The Cuba Democracy PAC has raised about \$750,000 from 1,500 contributors since its birth. Fundraising is done out of Miami while Claver-Carone, whose father is Spanish and whose mother is Cuban American, focuses on the Washington lobbying.

According to PAC filings with the Federal Election Commission, its contributors range from retirees who chipped in with with \$200 to high-profile Cuban Americans like Commerce Secretary Carlos Gutierrez, who gave \$4,000 before he joined the Bush administration.

Claver-Carone says he gets paid nothing for his PAC efforts. His full-time job is running a research and advocacy organization, the Cuba Democracy Advocates, created early last year by Miami car dealer Gus Machado and Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals, a Cuban exile who built a pizza empire in Spain.

Machado is the PAC's treasurer, but Claver-Carone says the PAC is not linked to the Advocates group.

The PAC's eight-person executive committee and 17-person board of directors include Remedios Diaz and Ricardo Mayo from the Cuban Liberty Council, Alicia Ortiz and Anolan Ponce from Mothers Against Repression and business leaders Raul Masvidal, Juan Delgado and Mario Ferro, according to Claver-Carone.

According to the Center for Responsive Politics, a watchdog group, says the Cuba Democracy PAC has given \$214,000 to 113 House candidates and \$54,000 to 12 Senate candidates. About 70 percent of the money went to Republicans.

But the Latin America Working Group, an anti-sanctions advocacy organization, says 33 House members that until last year were considered solid supporters of easing the restrictions, voted against many similar initiatives this year after receiving money from the Cuba Democracy PAC. The donations ranged from \$1,000 to \$5,000.

#### **AGAINST INITIATIVES**

Among those voting against the initiatives was Rep. Donald Manzullo R-Ill., a member of the Cuba Working Group, a congressional caucus that favors more trade with the island. The PAC donated \$1,000 to his campaign.

For Wasserman Schultz, a 12-year veteran of the Florida Legislature, Cuba was an early test of her Washington political skills. As a whip for the Cuba Democracy Caucus, she lobbied all 42 fellow freshmen and some senior members from both parties to vote against the amendments. Her spokesman, Jonathan Beeton, claimed that she persuaded "several" to vote with her.

Claver-Carone described Wasserman Schultz' role as "particularly impacting," in the same way Miami Republican Mario Diaz-Balart was able to bring in votes from the 2002 freshman class. He added that as a Jewish American, Wasserman Schultz also shares a bond with the Cuban diaspora.

Claver-Carone says the Cuba Democracy PAC's work will continue its work even after Cuban leader Fidel Castro dies, helping the island with trade and assistance issues much like the Jewish community

extends a hand to Israel.

"That's the goal of the PAC," he said.

**EXHIBIT 16** 

## LATIN AMERICA WORKING GROUP

Action at home for just policies abroad

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### Follow the Money: Impact of U.S.-Cuba Democracy PAC Donations

The following members of the House of Representatives accepted campaign contributions from the U.S.-Cuba Democracy PAC, a pro-embargo, anti-Castro organization. Listed veteran representatives voted incongruously with either one or all of their prior votes through the 2003 legislative year, or beyond, for similar amendments (charts 1-3). Some of these representatives had earlier voted in support of easing travel and trade restrictions (chart 1) while other representatives had been inconsistent in previous votes but had supported some aspects of easing the embargo (chart 2). New members listed accepted money and voted against all of the amendments (chart 4).

Although it is hard to demonstrate a direct causal relationship between accepting money and voting a certain way, we feel that PAC money contributed to this year's defeat of amendments on Cuba policy in the House of Representatives. For five years prior to this most recent vote, the House consistently voted to loosen restrictions on travel and trade with Cuba. With the establishment in 2003 of the U.S.-Cuba Democracy PAC, many House members have receiver the PAC's contributions and retracted their previous support for certain or all amendments. It is important to recognize, however, that each representative is distinct in his or her voting record. If you wish to know more specific information about your representative's past voting record, please contact us by phone (202) 546-7010 or by email lawg@lawg.org.

- 1. Previously consistent supporters who changed votes, voting against all 2005 amendments:
  - Alexander, Rodney (R-LA) \$3,000
  - Brady, Kevin (R-TX) \$1,000
  - Gallegly, Elton (R-CA) \$1,000
  - Hall, Ralph (R-TX) \$2,000
  - Hefley, Joel (R-CO) \$1,000
  - Issa, Darrell (R-CA) \$1,000
  - Latham, Tom (R-IA) \$1,000
  - LaTourette, Steven (R-OH) \$2,000
  - McIntyre, Mike (D-NC) \$3,000
  - Simmons, Robert (R-CT) \$1,000
  - Terry, Lee (R-NE) \$3,000
  - Whitfield, Edward (R-KY) \$4,000
- 2. Previously inconsistent supporters who voted against all 2005 amendments:
  - Bartlett, Roscoe (R-MD) \$1,000
  - Case, Ed (D-HI) \$1,000
  - Chandler, Ben (D-KY) \$2,000
  - Pickering, Charles (R-MS) \$2,000
  - Wilson, Heather (R-NM) \$1,000
  - Wu, David (D-OR) \$3,000

3. Accepted \$\$ and reversed support for at least one 2005 amendment See below for a more detailed description of the individual member's voting record.

- Boyd, Allen (D-FL) \$1,000
- Cardoza, Dennis (D-CA) \$1,000
- Cubin, Barbara (R-WY) \$1,000
- Gilchrest, Wayne (R-MD) \$1,000
- Graves, Sam (R-MO) \$1,000
- Green, Gene (D-TX) \$2,000
- Kennedy, Patrick (D-RI) \$1,000
- Manzullo, Donald (R-IL) \$1,000
- Miller, Brad (D-NC) \$1,000
- Murtha, John (D-PA) \$1,000
- Ney, Bob (R-OH) \$1,000
- Ortiz, Solomon (D-TX) \$1,000
- Schiff, Adam (D-CA) \$1,000
- Sherman, Brad (D-CA) \$1,000

Rep. Allen Boyd, D-FL-2nd, recently voted against allowing people to send toothpaste and toile paper to relatives on the island (Flake's gift parcel amendment). In addition, Boyd reversed his prior support of educational exchange by voting against the Lee education amendment. Rep. Boyd did vote for the Davis Cuban-American family travel amendment.

Rep. Dennis Cardoza, D-CA-18th, recently voted against allowing people to send toothpaste and toilet paper to relatives on the island (Flake's gift parcel amendment). In addition, he reversed his previous support for Cuban-American family travel by voting against the Davis amendment. Rep. Cardoza did vote for the amendment on educational travel

Rep. Barbara Cubin, R-WY-At Large, had moved increasingly toward supporting easing travel restrictions to Cuba. This year she supported the Davis Cuban-American family travel amendment and the Flake gift parcels amendment. She reversed, however, her previous support for educational exchange by voting against the Lee educational exchange amendment

Rep. Wayne Gilchrest, R-MD-1st, recently voted against allowing people to send toothpaste and toilet paper to relatives on the island (Flake's gift parcel amendment). Although he received contributions from the pro-embargo U.S-Cuba Democracy PAC, he claims to have returned these donations. He most recently voted for the amendments on Cuban-American family travel and educational exchange.

Rep. Sam Graves, R-MO-6th, is a member of the House Cuba Working Group and has consistently supported easing restrictions on trade and travel with Cuba. He has even supported the full termination of the trade embargo by voting for an amendment Rep. Rangel (D-NY) has twice proposed on the House floor. This year, however, after accepting PAC contributions, Rep. Graves reversed his support for Rangel's "end-the-embargo" amendment.

Rep. Gene Greene, D-TX-29th, recently voted in favor of allowing people to send toothpaste and toilet paper to relatives on the island; he also voted for lifting restrictions on Cuban-American family travel. He has, however, wavered on his commitment to end all travel restrictions. He most recently voted against the Lee amendment on educational exchange after supporting a similar amendment in the past.

Rep. Patrick Kennedy, D-RI-1st, has been a wavering supporter of ending some aspects of the travel restrictions. Most recently he reversed his support for educational exchange by voting against the Lee educational exchange amendment. Rep. Kennedy did vote for the Davis Cuban-American family amendment and Flake's gift parcels amendment.

Rep. Donald Manzullo, R-IL-16th, was a staunch supporter of ending travel restrictions; he is a

member of the House Cuba Working Group. But recently, his voting patterns have switched and he voted against loosening the most inhumane portions of the embargo. He reversed his support for educational exchange and loosening restrictions on gift parcels and Cuban-American family travel.

Rep. Brad Miller, D-NC-13th, voted against the Davis Cuban-American travel amendment and the Lee educational exchange amendment, a reversal of his previous position. Rep. Miller did vote for Rep. Flake's amendment on easing limitations on gift parcels.

Rep. John Murtha, D-PA-12th, has been a wavering supporter of ending the travel restrictions. He recently reversed his past support of allowing people to send toothpaste and toilet paper to relatives on the island (Flake's gift parcel amendment). Rep. Murtha did vote for Cuban-American family travel and educational exchange.

Rep. Robert Ney, R-OH-18th, recently reversed his support for educational exchange by voting against the Lee amendment. Rep. Ney supported Cuban-American family travel and lifting restrictions on gift parcels.

Rep. Adam Schiff, D-CA-29th, recently voted against allowing people to send toothpaste and toilet paper to relatives on the island (Flake's gift parcel amendment). He did not cast a vote on Cuba policy issues he has previously supported: Davis' amendment on Cuban-American travel and Lee's amendment on educational exchange.

Rep. Brad Sherman, D-CA-27th, recently reversed his support for educational exchange by voting against the amendment offered by Rep. Lee.

#### 4. New members who accepted \$\$ and voted against all amendments:

- Boustany, Charles (R-LA) \$4,000
- Conaway, Mike (R-TX) \$1,000
- Davis, Geoff (R-KY) \$2,000
- Dent, Charles (R-PA) \$2,000
- Drake, Thelma (R-VA) \$1,000
- Fitzpatrick, Mike (R-PA) \$2,000
- Fortenberry, Jeff (R-NE) \$2,000
- Foxx, Virginia (R-NC) \$1,000
- Gohmert, Louie (R-TX) \$1,000
- Kuhl, Randy (R-NY) \$1,000
- McMorris, Cathy (R-WA) \$2,000
- Poe, Ted (R-TX) \$1,000
- Price, Tom (R-GA) \$1,000
- Reichert, Dave (R-WA) \$2,000
- Salazar, John (D-CO) \$5,000
- Schwarz\*, Joe (R-MI) \$1,000
- Sodrel, Mike (R-IN) \$1,000
- Wasserman Schultz, Debbie (D-FL) \$3,000
- Westmoreland\*\*, Lynn (R-GA) \$2,000

<sup>\*</sup> Schwarz voted yes on Flake's gift parcels amendment

<sup>\*\*</sup> Westmoreland did not vote on amendments on Cuban-American travel, educational travel, and ending the full embargo